5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

769 171 [114] by that ubiquitous and meaningless term *yurupari*, lingua franca and Tupian for "devil," "spirits," "sacred," "mystery," and the like.[2] The Indians have learned to satisfy all foreign curiosity about their sacred practices by uttering the impressive word *yurupari*. All rites involv-
769 534 171 ing the use of the sacred and taboo-to-women, trumpets and flutes, have been invariably described in the literature as *yurupari*. We cannot assume, however, that because these instruments are ancestral embodiments among the Cubeo that they are so among all other tribes who use them. One of the striking characteristics of the entire Amazon drainage is the ready way in which form and content separate and recombine in new ways. It has been reported that among the Arawakan tribes in the region the flutes and trumpets represent the spirit of *Kúwai* (*Kúwai*), the tribal culture hero (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, I, 187). On the Orinoco, von Humboldt (1852, II, 363) found a cult of sacred trumpets associated with the fertility of fruits and berries. The plant fertility aspect of the instruments is well-nigh universal in the region, suggesting that this may have been the oldest [241] association. Among the Cubeo, too, the whipping ceremonies are quite explicitly associated with the harvest of fruits and berries dur- [881] ing the short summer season. Among the neighboring Tucano In- [184] dians, where sacred horns are used in the initiation of young boys, the instruments all have animal names, such as armadillo, paca, and [552] agouti, as well as a little bird. They are reported to be known as tamed animals, but there is no reference in this report to an ancestral cult (Ypiringa Monteiro, 1960).

769 171 As for the Cubeo ancestral features, it may be reasonable to suppose we are dealing with an Andean culture trait that has diffused eastward into the rain forest. Ancestors are prominent in the religions of the Chibchan-speaking Cágaba (Park, 1936), in northern Colombia, and, southwest of the Cubeo, among the Witoto Indians (Preuss, 1921–23; Whiffen, 1915; Steward, 1948), with whom the Cubeo show remarkably close affiliation. Among the Cubeo, we may
769 534 speculate, a fusion has occurred between an early ancestral cult and a series of other culture elements such as harvest festivals, cultic
174 whipping, male puberty rites, and a secret men's cult in which spirits taboo to women are represented by musical instruments. As will be seen in a later chapter, a similar fusion seems to have occurred among
534 elements making up the complex mourning ceremonies.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* there are five pairs of musical instruments

[2] Actually Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) does give a native term for "*yurupari* dance" (*bekeboikelehapuive*, which has the meaning of "festival of the Ancients"), but he apparently attached no significance to the term.